1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 784 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 527 784 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *polinol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 784 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

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Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave.[1] Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law.

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days.

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*.

[1] [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days.--Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

cairns and take their contents, and will even assist in the demolition. When I asked the Todas what they thought of the rifling of the *pun* they showed just the same indifference. They did not seem to think the matter any concern of theirs, and yet they believe in a definite association between the presence of a *pun* and the abode of a deity. 172

There seem to be three chief possibilities. One, that the cairns are Toda remains and that the association of the stone circles above them with the presence of a god is the last surviving relic of the fact. The second is that when the Todas came to the Nilgiri hills they found mysterious stone circles on certain hills, which marked out these hills as possessing features out of the common, and that this gave them a sanctity which led to the idea that they were inhabited by gods. A third possibility is that the same peculiarities which led the original builders of the circles to choose certain hills also led the Todas to choose them as the abodes of their deities, and that it was only later that they came to recognise the association between the circle and the presence of a god.

Whichever possibility may give the true explanation, one would have thought that the Todas would have objected to the disturbance and excavation of the cairns. There is little doubt that they were ignorant of the fact that objects were buried beneath the stone circles, but they are quite intelligent enough to know that there is a connexion between the stones and the objects beneath them when once these have been found.

I have very little doubt that the true explanation of the indifference of the Todas towards these monuments is that they have no definite traditional injunction against interfering with the circles. The Todas are the slaves of their traditions and of the laws and regulations which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. Till the Europeans came to the hills, it had never occurred to anyone to meddle with these stones or explore the soil beneath and around them. In consequence there was no reason why injunctions against interference should be handed down, and when the European arrived with his spade and pickaxe the Todas found nothing in their traditional laws telling them that it was wrong to 172 183

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 183 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 771 776 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom.

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion.

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstthi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstthi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it
587 must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *tererstthi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstthi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstthi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest
183 child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike pertinency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts.

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci-

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VII.

dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion, of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant.* Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant.* This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.)

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the ex-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara kêdu, or second funeral—Analysis

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

which our own British forefathers in Celtic days—before the nation had become English through suffusion of Teutonic blood—used to form, has been read by every school-boy. 'It was common,' writes Cæsar, 'for a number of brothers or other near relations to use their wives promiscuously.'[2] It is not perhaps, quite pleasant to be told that such was the custom of our own ancestors, and efforts have in consequence been made to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement; but that it was indeed the habit of the Celtic portion of the inhabitants, I see no cause for doubting. If, as I believe to be the case, the custom of the ancient Britons, and of the Todas, is in this respect, identical, any light which these pages may bring to bear upon the curious and ancient practice, cannot fail to be accepted with greatly enhanced interest.

Polyandry prevails also amongst tribes now occupying divergent tracts of the Indian Peninsula, but which, speaking various dialects of the same Drâvidian language, which is the mother-tongue of our Todas, were manifestly at one time, close neighbours—viz. in the mountains of Ceylon, and along the Southern Ghats.

It exists at this day amongst the Kalmuks, and has only just died out with the last of the Tasmanians.

It is known to be the practice of 'some families of the Iroquois.'[3]

We shall be better placed, to understand all the conditions of this venerable institution, on perusing the following few simple customs—partaking of the full force of laws—in regard to the management and inheritance of property; such as land, cattle, food and chattels, which obtain amongst the Todas;—

I. It has already been told that the tribe is divided into clans—kôleh.[4]

[2] J. Cæsar, 'De Bello Gallico.'
[3] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man.'
[4] Kôleh is a Drâvidian—Kanarese—word, which, though used by the

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

621 618 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

423 234 V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Brooks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

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the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffaloes.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs.

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact.

When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negociation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union.

The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

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remain unchanged in habits, almost through all time: but in the presence of a superior civilisation, action may be observed to commence; habits improve, though perhaps only up to a certain low stage, almost insensibly, and much as a flower expands, chemically influenced in the light of the sun.

The combined institutions of the dower and inheritance, afford as strong guarantees for the stable nature of the marriage tie as any race of inferior moral culture could well give. Indeed, no social customs redound more to their credit for practical sagacity than these. The young man makes his offer of marriage, which being accepted, the bargain, so far as he is concerned, is closed, and his dowry is *held to be due*. The girl, after sufficient deliberation, accepts this man: when the father is liable for her portion, to the man who has now become her husband.

Women, as we have seen, not being able to inherit property, the husband and father of the family is alone responsible for the food supply.

If then at any time the wife should be discarded, the whole of her family would be interested in the question of 'who is to feed her,' and thus naturally as it were, become guardians of the law. Or if, on the other hand, the wife should leave her husband's protection, he would claim from her father, restitution of the dowry he had paid. Had it been their custom that women could inherit property, men might wash their hands of the duty of supporting wife and family, and women would have encouragement to separate from their husbands, taking their children with them. Of course, such simple traps for restraining the sexes, could never hold, except in conditions of much honesty and good faith. A child left to starve, or a woman to beg or earn a separate livelihood, are sights absolutely unknown in such a united community.

Instances have occurred, but are acknowledged to be rare; of the bridegroom not having found the means of fulfilling his part of the compact; not having paid the dowry, even by

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the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

As regards the national feeling on such an affair it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1 i.e, failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.--Analyst]

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I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

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were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9.

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation.

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety.

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe.

11:Emeneau ..L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poly). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoly, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the to·ɪtjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjo·ɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ɛzɔg (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's to·ɪtjfoj-oɪl. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Moknɪr (Maknɛr), wife of tulkɪtθj of the noɪs patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tɔ̈ɔ̈fʊrʊ (Tevɔ̈), looked like his mother's to·ɪtjfoj-oɪl, nobʊs of the pɪɪtoɪl patrilineal sib (Nabʊrʊ, 64), also called kʊtj (he reared the children after tulkɪtθj died). In a quarrel tɔ̈ɔ̈fʊrʊ might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobʊs-mɔɛ "son of nobʊs" or kʊtj-mɔɛ "son of kʊtj," or as nobʊs or kʊtj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇisa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month. The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, than their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment. The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins